1: Butt E-4 (no date) 1952 FL11 Luo FL11

economic activities and although, formerly, there were organised hunts, today hunting is not much practised. 105

LUO EXPANSION

Until the time of European intervention the Luo appear to have been gradually expanding towards the south. This resulted in their division into two parts (on the north and south of the Kavirondo Gulf) namely: the Luo of Central Kavirondo and the Luo of Southern Kavirondo. Evans-Pritchard writes, "The southwards migration seems to have been across the Gulf from Uyoma and Asembo to Karecoonyo, and not round it, and to have taken place over several generations, commencing, if genealogies are to be trusted, about seven generations ago. Across the Gulf the Luo came up against the Bantu (Ikwa) and Nilo-Hamitic (Lango) tribes."(1) The assimilation and absorption of these tribes was incomplete at the time of European occupation of the country. During this process of expansion there was a considerable dispersal of lineages so that lineages of the same clan are found in both Central and South Kavirondo. The Luo tribes least influenced by the Bantu are the Uyoma, Same and Asembo and such tribes as pushed the southernmost Luo into Bantu country. 174

SOCIAL ORGANISATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

At the present time Luoland is divided into a number of administrative locations which vary considerably in area and population. These locations, according to Evans-Pritchard, correspond approximately to the old tribal areas of the Luo. The expansion of the Luo has divided them into two main groups with Kisumu location forming a narrow territorial link between them: 631 101

1. The Luo of Central Kavirondo, known as *Joiye* (the inside people).

2. The Luo of Southern Kavirondo, known as *Jooko* (the outside people).(2)

THE TRIBE (*Piny*)

Among the Luo the tribe is an autonomous political unit. Like the Nuer tribes it may be defined in terms of the way in which homicide was formerly regarded and treated. 619 682

Compensation for homicide (*cut*) takes the form of handing over cattle, or a girl, to the kinsmen of a slain man so that heirs may be raised for him. Compensation is only paid for the killing of a tribesman, for men of other tribes, slain in war, raids or private conflict, are regarded as enemies, enemies. On the other hand, compensation is not paid for killing a clansman, for such a deed is regarded as a sin, and propitiation and atonement have to be made by the sacrifice of an ox provided by the mur-

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 1940, No. VII, p.2.
(2) Ibid.

619 682 diate kin of the slayer, and eaten by representatives of the entire clan. It might, however, be insisted on that the slayer should marry a wife in the name of the dead clansman and raise heirs to him. Strangers having close kinship links with a dominant clan, may refuse to pay compensation, and they tend to regard killing as a sin, since the acceptance of compensation for homicide emphasized a distinction they are anxious to obliterate.(1) A Luo tribe can be defined as a unit in which compensation for homicide is paid, or in which there is provision for payment and the settlement of the feud.

The Tero Buru

619 766 Luo tribes were formerly separated from each other by the thin - a stretch of bush country left unoccupied. Between segments of the same tribe there was no thin. The ritual demonstration of *tero buru* took place across these boundaries. It was the custom of the Luo in the past not to bury an important man, known for his wealth or for his military ability, until the whole tribe, or a large part of it, had crossed the thin and demonstrated in front of the homesteads of the neighbouring tribe. The demonstration took the form of insults, challenges to fight and the tempting parade of cattle. It was a matter of honour for the challenging party to stand their ground and defend their herds with their lives. Such demonstrations were also made against neighbouring Bantu who had a similar structure to that of the Luo tribes. The demonstrating party was not usually attacked unless two *buru* parties of opposing tribes met. Sometimes, however, the opportunity was taken to try and raid the cattle of the neighbouring tribe.

649 Payment of compensation and the *tero buru* are the two main indications of tribal separation. In addition there is the association of a specific lineage unit with a tribe.

CLANS AND LINEAGES

613 614 Each Luo tribe has a dominant clan or lineage. The clan *(dho-ot)*, has a lineage structure and lineages are differentiated by adding to the name of the clan or larger lineage an and the individual name of the smaller branch. Formerly, the clans were exogamous but today the larger clans are not always so. Within the large clans agnatic lineages can intermarry when the distance between them has become great enough.

936 Where the separation between two lineages has not proceeded far enough or where two clans are closely related there is a socially recognized form of love-making called *ondo*, which takes place between the young men and girls of both groups. Marriage is not permitted until the separation has proceeded further. After some generations the less approved type of marriage *(pur)* may be permitted. This is marriage by abduction and it is eventually replaced by the ordinary form *(nono)* when the complete separation and distinctiveness of the units is recognised.(2)

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582. A man is forbidden to marry a woman who is a sor, a cognatic relative.

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 1940, No.VII, p.6.
(2) *Ibid.*, p.7.

Among the Luo a man is excluded from marrying into clans as distant as that of his maternal grandmother or into the maximal lineage of his maternal great-grandmother. Thus a Luo man may not marry his kin, but only wasigu (enemies) with whom no kinship is recognised. It is, therefore, difficult for a man to marry into a clan or lineage within his own tribe. The system of exogamy consists in the structural differentiation of a tribe but also it creates relations of a personal and kinship nature between individuals of two different tribes. 582

The relationship between kinship and territorial units seems to follow closely the pattern found in other Nilotic tribal groups. In the Alego tribe, for example, we are told that there is a dominant clan, the Jo Alego, and its maximal lineages, the Jo Sege and the Ka Dengo. There are a number of other clans and large lineages living in the tribal territory as well as small stranger groups and individuals. The presence of these clans and lineages in Alego, and their relations with the Jo Alego, are accounted for by traditions or myths in which stranger lineages and the lineages in possession (which are personified) intermarry, and the stranger lineages assume the position of in-laws. Other tribal areas have a similar structure. Evans-Pritchard states that the relative values of lineages are the same as with the Nuer. In opposition to other maximal lineages a man will give the name of his own maximal lineage but when speaking of an opposed smaller lineage he will give his own immediate lineage, the particular branch of the maximal lineage to which it belongs.(1) 613 614

The Dominant Clan

The dominant clan is usually identified linguistically with the tribe. Thus, Alego means both the tribesmen of Alego tribal territory and the patrilineal descendants of Alego. Members of the dominant clan alone are *jopiny* or *jopiny* - the people of the land and the owners of it. The rest are *josiki* - the separated people, the strangers. Stranger lineages are grafted into the lineage structure of the dominant clan so that, through recognition of female links, the whole tribe may be regarded as a system of exogamic lineages. The Luo refer to the affiliated stranger lineages as *kwaro* - lineages of in-laws, or *kwar* - lineages of maternal uncles, since it is from them that they take their wives and the mothers of their children.(2) 619 614 613

For general purposes the *jopiny* and *josiki* are on equal terms and co-operate in matters of common interest. The differentiation only appears in matters of ritual, in marriage regulations and when homicide occurs. In recent times the differentiation has become plainer through land disputes. Formerly there was enough land for everyone and more could be obtained by war and migration. Now, there is considerable inter-lineage enmity about land. The *jopiny* claim the land in virtue of their ownership of the tribal territory and as proof of this they point to the ancestral graves. Stranger lineages which are numerous and powerful may also claim to be *jopiny* in the same area and, having dwelt there for some generations, can also point to their ancestral graves. It is the general rule that a lineage has the right to cultivate land where its forebears have lived for several genera- 614 613 578

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Sudan Anthropological Journal*, 1940, No.VII, pp.10-11.
(2) *Ibid.*, p.10.

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tions. Sometimes several lineages can claim this right, and the structural differentiation and the type of connecting link between them is revealed in the resulting disputes.

IMPORTANT MEN AMONG THE LUO

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There is no real political office in the Luo tribes, but there are a number of people who are of notable status.

The Ruoth

The *ruoth* is simply an influential man. He is richer in wives and cattle than most people, and he may help a poor man to marry by giving him a cow. Any man may become a *ruoth*, although he is usually a member of the dominant clan of the tribe. No such political or ritual significance are attached to the Luo *ruoth* as are associated with the Lango and Acholi *rwodi*.(1)

Thumbi

The *thumbi* are warriors of reputation. They lead all the raids against the tribal enemies. Their position depends entirely on individual ability in war, and therefore they are not necessarily succeeded by their sons.

The Nun Gweng

The *nun gweng* is the father of the land and a man of influence in every district. He is a senior member of a lineage of the dominant clan of the tribe, and settles land disputes within the tribe. He also sacrifices to the sacred spear of the clan, and points it towards the enemy before a tribal war begins.(2)

RITUAL EXPERTS

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The *jabilo* is the most important of the ritual experts and the chief tribal figure. There may be more than one *jabilo* in each tribal segment, but usually one is more influential than the rest. The *jabilo* inherits his position from his father. His functions include divination of the fortunes of war, *cursing the enemy and making magic to ensure victory*. Although he does not accompany the warriors, the *jabilo* receives part of the spoil in return for his services and is, therefore, usually a *ruoth* - a rich man. A further investigation of the *jabilo*'s place in society would be particularly interesting. It is said that he was also a peacemaker and could intervene in a fight by dragging his leopard-skin along the ground between the two opposing sides.(3) The *jabilo* sometimes exercises the functions of rain-maker (*jabuth or nun kuth*).

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Luo tribal structure appears to be, in all essentials, similar to that of the Nuer, the typical segmentary lineage structure, associated

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 1948, No. VII, p.5.
(2) *Ibid.*, pp.5-6.
(3) *Ibid.*, p.6.
cf. Nuer leopard-skin chief

with territorial unit, is not organised round a symbolic office such as the Shilluk *reth*ship, the Anuak nobility or the Acholi chiefship. The interaction of the segmentary system is the basis of organisation and co-operation. The Lango organisation closely approaches that of the Luo but, until further information is forthcoming as to the exact position of the Lango *rwot* and the political importance of the lineage system, the degree of similarity is difficult to determine. On the basis of present knowledge it would seem that the Lango, with their hierarchy of village headman, *jago* and *rwoth* are more highly organised than the acephalous Luo, with their ritual experts, elders and lineage heads.

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THE LUO HOMESTEAD

The homestead, the residence of an elementary, or sometimes a joint, family, is generally called a *dala* (Bantu) *or pacho* (Nilotic). It is surrounded with a thick hedge of euphorbia, in which is a narrow gap forming the entrance to the kraal round which are grouped the huts and granaries. 592

According to Evans-Pritchard, there is no real village group. The head of the homestead is the head of the family occupying it. Each married man has his own hut, with huts for his wives on either side. Unmarried women live in a hut looked after by an old woman, and single men occupy a bachelors' hut near the gate in order to guard against cattle thieves. Sons often go and found their own homesteads if they wish to be independent. The eldest son eventually builds his wife a hut of her own outside his father's homestead and the younger brothers will later do the same. The large polygynous family thus splits up gradually as the sons extend their own family units and form separate homesteads. This process is completed with the death of the original man *dala* and the inheritance of the widows. The first wife is the chief wife of the homestead, but a husband sets aside as many cattle for each of his wives for use by their families and these are inherited by the sons on the father's death. 591 592

INHERITANCE

Property is inherited by a man's sons or, failing sons, by his brother. A widow, on the death of her husband is inherited by one of his brothers, by a distant kinsman, or, if she is still young, by a son born of a different wife. The widow is *ot liend*, 'the wife of the grave',(1) and children born to her are called after the dead husband who is regarded as their *pater*. 428 587 851

MARRIAGE

Bridewealth

The number of bridewealth animals varies according to circumstances. Before the cattle plagues at the end of the 19th century 20 to 40 cattle were given; in 1932 the usual number was 15 to 20, and since that time the number has been further reduced. According to Evans-Pritchard the bridewealth cattle fall into two parts:(2) 583

1. The *dho kony*: the animals first handed over by the husband and due to

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Africa* VI, 1933, p.161. (2) Ibid., p.159.

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
FL11 Luo FL11

assimilation of these tribes were incomplete when European occupation of the country slowed down the momentum of colonization. The tribes living to-day to the south of the gulf who are said to be Luo in origin and who speak Luo are Kano, Nyakac, Karacuonyo, (Mumbo, Kabondo, and Karacuonyo), Kocia, Kanyada, Gem, Kanyamwa, Karungu, Kadem, Kwabwai, Kanyadoto, Kabwoc, and Sakwa. The other locations on the sketch-map are occupied by Bantu tribes who either speak Luo only, like the Kagan (included in the map in the Kocia location) and the Mohoru; or speak Luo as well as their own language, like the Kasigunga, Kaksingiri, and Gwasi. In one instance, that of the Wanjare, who are external to the Karacuonyo, a Luo tribe is said to have adopted a Bantu dialect to the loss of their own tongue because, according to the Luo myth, their ancestor killed his father in a hunting accident, and they are, on account of their Luo origin, regarded more favourably by the Luo than other Bantu-speaking tribes. The Kamagambo and Kanyamkago are said to be of Nilo-Hamitic origin, though both speak Luo to-day. Tribes which to-day speak only Luo and have Luo customs are regarded as Luo and it would be most insulting to call a member of one of them *'Jomme'* or *'Lange'*. There is much intermarriage between Luo of pure descent and assimilated or partly assimilated Bantu. At the present day there is also some intermarriage with the Kisii Bantu, though I was told that a Luo would not take one of their daughters as his chief wife. In Central Kavirondo assimilation in the areas of conquest and settlement has gone much further and, except for the Wahoho, who speak both Luo and Bantu, the line of linguistic cleavage is clearer cut.

Luo expansion at the expense of the Bantu was like a line of shunting trucks, each tribe driving out the one in front of it to seek compensation from one yet further in front, generally a Bantu tribe. Thus when the Uyoma and Asembo tribes jointly occupied what is now Uyoma territory they found there the tribes of Karacuonyo and Gem (of South Kavirondo) whom they pushed across the gulf into what was then Bantu country. Later the Uyoma people drove out the Asembo people into their present territory. These movements have led to a considerable dispersal of lineages so that lineages of the same clan are found to-day in both Central and South Kavirondo. Lineages of the same clan are found in the Gem tribe of South Kavirondo and in the tribe of the same name in Central Kavirondo, lineages of the Kanyada tribe have agnatic kinship with the Jokikaa lineage of the Alego tribe, and the Luo elements in the Kowak and Kamagera tribes of Tanganyika are said to have come from Kajulo and Kadimo and to have kinsmen in these areas.

It is not surprising therefore that the late comers who pushed other Luo tribes into contact with, and conquest of, Bantu are held to have been the least influenced by Bantu culture in their speech and way of life. This reputation is enjoyed by the people of Uyoma, Seme, and Asembo. The low-lying country of these tribes, a thorn-wood savannah plain with patches of swamp and treeless grassland, from which Seme takes its name, suffers from seasonal drought: in all reminding one of the homelands of some of the Nilotic cousins of the Luo in the Sudan.

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
FL11 Luo FL11

[following p. 26]

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
FL11 Luo FL11

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Each Luo tribe (*pinj*), coterminous in the main, as has been said, with the present administrative location, was an autonomous political unit. As among the Nuer, one of the chief characteristics of a Luo tribe, and one by which its autonomy may be defined, is to be found in the different ways in which homicide was regarded and treated in pre-European days. There were local variations but in general the principle followed was that *cut*, compensation (a girl or cattle for a kinsman of the slain man to marry a wife with and raise heirs to his name,) was paid only for the killing of a fellow tribesman. No *cut* was paid for killing men of another tribe in war, raids, or as an outcome of the ritual demonstration called *kera*,[1] for they were *wangu*, enemies, and a state of feud between the lineages involved, and sometimes of war between the two tribes, developed. Likewise no compensation could be paid for slaying a clansman, but atonement was made by the sacrifice of an ox, provided by the kin of the slayer and eaten by representatives of the whole clan, who might moreover insist on the slayer marrying a wife to the name of the dead man. The line of political cleavage between tribe and tribe thus ran through the points at which the obligation to pay compensation or make atonement for homicides ended for a particular group of people and it is so regarded by the Luo themselves. For example, when the Uyoma people and the Asembo people lived in the same territory they paid compensation for homicide between them but when they separated they ceased to pay it.

In tribes in which the tribesmen, except for some small lineages of strangers (*jodak*) intermingled with the dominant clan, are all members of the same clan, such as Kanyamanyo tribe, compensation for homicide was not, or was rarely, paid, because the strangers had close kinship links with the dominant clan and would, I was told, have refused compensation in cattle, though they might have accepted a girl, since had they done so they would have emphasized a distinction they were anxious to obliterate. It was only in tribes in which there were beside the dominant clan other powerful lineages occupying their own lands within the tribal territory, as the *Jodolum* and *Kadem* in Alego, that *cut* was paid regularly for homicide and could be enforced by appeal to arms. In other words, where there was considerable political cohesion, expressed in terms of clanship, the killing of a man was treated as a sin; where there were marked sectional cleavages within the political unit of the tribe it was treated as a tort; and where there were social links but political separateness it was treated, unless it was a wanton act of individual homicide, as provocation to a feud but without moral disapproval or means of legal settlement.

The political boundary, which in its moral dimension signified a balanced hostility between adjacent tribal groups, had its material expression in the *thim*. The *thim* was a stretch of bush country, the home of buffalo,

[1] If a man of one tribe killed a man of a different tribe in a personal quarrel, and not in war raiding, feud, or ritual demonstration, he might pay compensation in cattle, e.g. if a Kanyamanyo man killed for some private reason a Kotia man who was taking cattle to his in-laws in Kanyamanyo territory.

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
FL11 Luo FL11

lion, leopard, and elephant, left unoccupied between a tribe and its neighbours, a no-man's land between them. Such stretches of country were found between tribe and tribe but not between segments of a tribe, even when the segments were of different clans, e.g. between Alego and Gem but not between the Joßeje, the Jokakan, and the Jokaruoth, in Alego tribe. The *thim* was sometimes extensive, as broad as ten miles.

Tribe raided tribe across the *thim* dividing them and here took place also the ritual demonstrations of *tero buru*. When a tribal dignitary, a man of substance, or a renowned warrior, died, or a man was killed in war, he was left unburied till the whole tribe, or a large segment of it, had advanced across the *thim* and demonstrated against the homesteads of a neighbouring tribe, parading their cattle before them and calling on their men with insults and abuse to come out and fight. Cattle were taken to entice the enemy into battle by a display of booty at his door and to compell the *buru* party to hold their ground should they be attacked, it being held ignoble for a herdsman not to defend his herd to the death. In this way Uyoma used to go out against Sakwa, Seme against Asembo, Kisumu, and Gem, the Gem tribe to the south of the gulf against Kamagambo, Kabwoc, Karachuonyo, and Kanyamwa, Karacuonyo against Kocia, Gem, Myakac, the Kanii Bantu, and even the Lumbwa. Where a Luo tribe bordered a Bantu tribe they made *buru* against it in the same manner as Luo tribes made it against one another, the Bantu tribes of Kavirondo being structurally of the same order as Luo tribes. Usually the demonstrating party was not attacked. This only happened on occasions when *buru* parties of opposite tribes met, each declaring its intention to challenge the other to battle, or when the demonstration turned into a raid for cattle, or when homesteads were sacked. The custom is kept up, but to-day is no more than a mimic skirmish, the cattle being driven into the *thim* where the people smash the shrubs and grasses. They bring back with them handfuls of a creeper to represent cattle taken from an enemy and throw these on the roof of the dead man's hut.

There was nothing that can be described as political office in a Luo tribe. The *ruoth* was an influential person, but no more. He was richer than his fellows in wives and cattle and people came often to his house to eat there and to discuss affairs of the day. I was told that a poor man might ask him for the gift of a cow to help him marry and that it was considered an honour to marry into his family. Any man gaining an enhanced social position of the kind was called *ruoth*, though he was in most instances a member of the dominant clan of the tribe. Some warriors (*thundi*, bulls) won renown for their courage and resource in war and were asked to lead raids into enemy territory. Though admired, a war leader, sometimes called *thum jatelo*, was not necessarily a *ruoth* or rich man, for he received little, perhaps a single cow, as his portion of the spoils of war. The position was not hereditary but derived from individual prowess and initiative. The *mon gang*, 'father of the land', seems also, at any rate in some parts of Lowland, to have been a man of influence in each district. He was a senior member of a lineage of the dominant clan of the tribe and settled land disputes. The one who repre-

§ 2. Nilotic Kavirondo.

181 The generic name of the Nilotic Kavirondo is *Ja-Luo*. By the Bantu Kavirondo they are called *Awa-Nilo* or *Nyilo*, also *Awa-Nyoro*.

193 *Ja*, *Ko*, and *Yalo* are all prefixes signifying "clan" or "tribe" among the Nile tribes.

The prefix *Ha* signifies language among these people.

Kuusi or Gusi (call themselves *Gusi*).

101 Situated to south of River Nzoia between Mumia's and Ugowe Bay. Tribe
● 619 second in importance in Kavirondo. Nilotic origin; belong to *Ja-Luo* family.
131 Head chief, Odera Ulalo, son of Umoli. Chief next in importance, Odera Sandai, son of Ulo. Other chiefs: Ekei Atando (son of Lochi), Wapoti Awuleri.

Subdivisions:—

- Jumbi—Odera, Ulalo, Odera Sandai, Atando Agura.
- Kaisuse—Ogwei.
- Kapolo—Sirwa.
- Kaisuse—Ngoge.
- Kanyaboli—Siwa.
- Kaulkweya—Nyong Kilibe, Ekei, Awuleri.

Lugo.

Situate to south of River Nzoia and south-west of Mumia's Nilotic tribe. Part of the tribe acknowledge suzerainty of Mumia. Important chiefs: Ukulu Ndenya or Ndong, Ngoge.

Subdivisions:—

- Lulo—Ungoge.
- Kabwizi—Odimoko.
- Asyoge—Ngoge.
- Kalao—Ndenya.
- Kawaloli—Ukulu, Ulalo, Apenya.
- Kanyajuok—Odera.
- Jumoro—Ogoti, Tao Mwasa Ugoto.
- Tuoji—Udongo.
- Tukulongi—Owuna.

[pp. 84-91 not processed]

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Loo FL11

Kyo or Kyoh.

101 479 131

Situate north bank of Nzoia River on the road from Mumia's to Port Victoria; a few live on south bank of the river. Nilotic tribe. Principal chiefs: Kero, Mulasi, Adipo, Usyongo.

Subdivisions:—

-Pungi. Chiefs: Kero, Mulasi and Adipo.
-Tachi—Usyongo, Nyasongi.

Kisoma.

Situate on north-west flanks of the Mumpiia Hills and on the lake shore north and west of Railway Inlet. Nilotic tribe. Principal chiefs: Ngolo or Ugolo and Ugolo.

Subdivisions:—

-Kisoma. Chiefs: Ondeo.
-Kwanonyo—Ngolo or Ugolo.
-Kadongo—Uyoma, Wonga, Ugonyi.
-Kowado—Ugolo, Ogolo.
-Kapenjo—Tawai, Magwiba, Wanchi.
-Sagami—Ogiro, Milaki, Kagonyo, Ndoma, Andeka.
-Kaledi—Kisoma.
-Takamonyo—Usendi.
-Yakagonyo—Ondeo, Aiyeko.
-Kanyawegi—Udalang.

The Kisoma and Yakagonyo clans are now amalgamated under Ondeo.

Kuni.

Situate south of the Kuni tribe between that tribe and Ugowe Bay. Formerly exclusively with the Kuni people. Nilotic tribe. Principal chiefs: Wadago, Yagodi, Awina.

Subdivisions:—

Kongo. Chief: Wadidowa.
Timo—Awina, Alomg.
Kalongi—Chandai, Okoko.
Kadipalo—Yagodi, Achiolo, Nikolo, Hiokoma.
Kanchowa—Okoni, Gumbo, Okolo.
Wuo—Wadago.
Kokori—Alwoma, Achiwoki.

The Kadipalo or Kadipal clan is subdivided as follows:—

Kanakijo—Uloi, Okuoh, Nyakundo.
Kanyiwuoro—Mlima (son of Yagodi).

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Loc FL11

Kabira—Undju.
Kauru—Akuuki.
Kanyalong—Hukwe.

With the Were clan are incorporated the Kanyadwere, chief Odhanyo. With the Tiwo clan are incorporated the Dere.

Kendu.

Situate on north shore of Ugowe Bay. Nilotic tribe. In a measure adult community of Odera Ulalo. Principal chief: Adula.

Subdivisions:—

Uwala—Gwere, Yadwa.
Kalai—Adula.

Ugowe.

Nilotic tribe, situate at entrance to Ugowe Bay on north shore. Principal chiefs: Lwiki (died 1899), Nalya.

Subdivisions:—

Kalenda—Nalya, Kiwere.
Kanwanga—Lwiki (dead), Ogingo, Uteya.
Kalang—Obolo.
Kabwini—Kariwh.

The Kalenda clan live around Laiya Hill, the Kanwanga to the east and the others to the north.

Sesukwa or Sukwa.

Nilotic tribe on lake shore to the west of Gusii. Principal chiefs: Ugulu, Undirbi.

Subdivisions:—

Kanyaswanda Kasiawa—Ugulu, Uriaula, Uwando.
Kanduri—Nyala, Odaro Ogio.
Kanjowa—Bura.
Tukakudi—Odaro, Ukwangwan.
Kududi—Mowa, Ngwiwa.
Kanyaviya (incorporated with Tukakudi).

Piwa or Ukwa.

Situate on lake shore south of Wanga mouth. Country called Kadiwa; called Waynaka by Masai's people. Nilotic origin.

Subdivisions:—

Kadiwa—Asawa.
Kudi—Uwasi.
Wanga—Ugia.

The Kadiwa live on the lake shore, the other clans inland.

4: Hobley G-S (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

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Soga.

Situate on the south bank of River Nzoia near Port Victoria. Nilotic origin. They are quite a small tribe. Principal chiefs: Uayando (Wa-Mooi), Uayando (Wa-Jua).

Kosa or Kadiba (often called Wa-Kitoto).

A Nilotic tribe living in an alluvial plain east of Ugowe Bay. Friendly, vast quantities of food, population large. Principal chiefs: Kitoto, Amimo and Ningili.

Subdivisions:—

Nyanuga or Moga. Chief: Kitoto.
Kajulo—Alonge (this clan is now all scattered).
Kadiba or Kasa—Yonanga, Hongo.
Kamolo or Kidoa—Okwaiki, Oyaro, Ningili.
Kabura—Amimo, Hongo, Uasagasa, Uyangi, Uyao, Arudi
Kasagaga—Uayao, Uayangasa.
Kabanya—Mbaya, Kitago, Uayanga.
Kasawanga—Undaiki.
Kimasa or Sua—Mimma, Ugundi, Uasaga, Ora, Yalendo.

The big chief Sandagi, now deceased, belonged to the Sua clan.

Khowa.

A Nilo tribe situated between the Lago and Kamasi. Head chief: Ulama, also Kakuri or Nyanga. The Kanyamasi (chief, Hamda) are allied to Khowa. They formerly lived near River Nzoia, but fled during Nilo fighting; settled near Odara Ulalo.

Subdivisions of the Khowa people:—

Makhoya. Chiefs: Omali, Chiwani.
Uawangwi—Ulama.
Wanyi—Mota.
Macha—Kibola.

Kabi.

Nilotic tribe, allied to the Lago and Soga tribes. Live near Gango lake, in the vicinity of the delta of the River Nzoia. Chief: Mastaga.

Kimdi.

They live on mainland opposite Lasinga country, called Kasagunga. Nilotic origin. Head chief: Akumba.

Subdivisions:—

Kimdi—Akumba.
Sidi—Makinya.
Dieng—Okech.
Tuna—Uamba.
Kasumi—Uwa.

4: Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1902 FL11 Luo FL11

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Ramba.

Live on south side of Ugowe Bay, opposite Uyoma country Nilotic people. Head chief: Gori Kagalo.

Subdivisions:—

Kafweti. Chief: Awino.
Kabonyo—Osewi, Magalo.
Kajuang—Yariwo, Arani.
Kanyamwa or Kanyambo—Kagalo and Ogalo.
Yabunda—Chikungi, Uyama.
Saki—Usodo, Uyumbi, Mongwiri.
Kachola or Kologi—Othina.
Kumunga—Mwai.
Kuchieng—Owino, Tigo.
Kasudo—Ukuli.

[578] The Saki people live near Usen hill, and there is a feud between them and the Kanyamwa owing to the latter having been driven from the lake shore, and thus losing their fishing rights. The Saki are very friendly with the Uyoma tribe and the Kanyamwa with the Sawakwa.

Nyakach.

Live at south-east corner of Ugowe Bay. Nilotic origin. Very friendly people, live in great dread of the Lumbwa. Head chief: Uberi.

Subdivisions:—

Kadianga. Chief: Uberi.
Kabodo—Magero.
Jimo—Mwasa.
Kajembo—Atak.
Kandaria—Omuma.
Kugeta—Sewa.

Kalenkenge.

A large tribe of Nilotic origin on the south side of Ugowe Bay. They stretch from the west of the Nyakach people to the west side of Uma or Oma Mountain. The head chief is Nyakiti.

Subdivisions:—

Kanyajok. Chief—Nyakiti.
Uma—Ugwan.
Nyalue—Ngue.
Kanyipori—Umalo.
Adusti—Nyango, Okindi.
Yakandaiya—Ugalo, Oyugi.
Utimo—Ngare.
Kodera—Opiawili.
Unyango—Ugalo.
Akolo—Ashieng.
Ojumb—Ogado.
Ukwaloa—Kinwalo.
Kabondo—Lailla.

[pp. 57-60 not processed]

10: Roscoe M-S (ca. 1900)1915
FL11 Loo FL11

constant activity in the field and home. The freedom with which the young women mingle with the men is striking, they may be seen among them, leaning on their shoulders when standing, as unrestrainedly as the men with men. The absence of clothing in no wise embarrasses them nor does it cause either sex a moment's thought; they are accustomed to this state of nature from childhood and feel no constraint in mingling freely together. They are extremely fond of ornaments and of painting themselves with different coloured clays, and often make patterns upon their bodies which they retain until the clay wears off. Their hair is often allowed to grow long, and youths frequently increase the length of it by twisting cords into it, greasing the whole with castor or other vegetable oil and rubbing red clay into it. Men and women mix freely together and often work in parties on the same field, singing songs as they work and keeping time with their hoes as they dig. Their homes in the hills are exposed and cold. Still, they do not appear to feel the cold winds and move about and work as freely as well-clothed tribes. As a tribe they combine agriculture with pastoral pursuits and their diet consists of milk and vegetables.

Origin of the tribe. According to their traditions they come from the north-west. Their ancestor Ramogi, they say, had seven sons named Kwenda, Nyakal, Owede, Nyadwat, Sakwa, Alego and Langho; and he adopted another son, Ugenyo. Langho, they say, is the father of the Masai and Setik tribes. They trace their own descent from Owede who had two sons, Omwa and Sagam. We thus have two groups forming the tribe, as follows: Omwa, whose descendants formed eight clans; Sagam, whose descendants form seven.

The descendants of Omwa:

1. Dongo	2. Nyuto	3. Orando
4. Kwamudi	5. Nyamwegi	6. Ndalo
7. Ogenyo	8. Nyakwal	

The descendants of Sagam:

1. Pwonja	2. Hadodi	3. Waranja
4. Rateng	5. Wango	6. Menya
7. Nyamoda		